

Social inclusion and building countervailing power: a review

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Introduction

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This review frames social exclusion within the citizen and participation literature, and explores the contributions of countervailing power towards inclusive citizenship. It reviews the main theories and case studies around social exclusion and adverse incorporation and it outlines the recommendations made by different social theorists towards a more inclusive citizenship.

A pillar of those inclusive interventions is what we call countervailing power. Defined as citizen engagement outside or against the state, it is a different form of engagement than citizenship engagement through representation or direct participation. We also use a Gramscian hegemony-counter-hegemony framework to outline the importance of political and cultural elements in the building of countervailing power.

We describe the different activities that promote inclusive countervailing power, reviewing literature on civil society, social movements, resistance, elites and alternative paradigms/practices. We aimed to 'pull out' lessons learnt from the literature – particularly on social movements- to understand what were the factors that contribute to the roll-out and success of social movements, and most importantly, what preconditions are necessary for those countervailing power activities to be *inclusive*. We put forward key recommendations proposed by researchers and practitioners for the creation of norms within social movements' decision-

making processes to ensure that subordinate groups and identities have a voice. After exploring in a little more detail examples of tensions between identities within the rural movements and feminist movements, a few examples on urban movements follow.

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1. Exercising citizenship

Chapter 5 of this multimedia publication has explored the different interfaces and arrangements that can exist to ensure citizens have a say in the running of the institutions that affect people's lives (Cornwall and Gaventa 2001). The re-thinking of citizenship has been brought forward in the recent years as a response to the disillusionment with conventional party politics democracies. This disillusionment stems from the instauration of political elites that seem detached from the public needs, the lack of channels to express voice and dissent, the lack of identification with public structures and the lack of responsiveness (Narayan et al. 2000, Commonwealth Foundation 1999). Liberal views on citizenship through participation in the market have proved fatal for the poor. To bridge this gap, citizenship is increasingly attached to the notion of deepening of democracy through direct participation.

Citizenship is thus not only a *status*: including the rights and responsibilities of the individual towards his community and the state and the obligation of the state towards its citizens; but also a *practice*: citizens are citizens when they participate politically to claim for their rights. Citizens are not mere recipients of the protection of the state, but have agency to promote social change through their voice and political participation.

As Lister pointed out, "To be a citizen in the legal and sociological sense means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the potential of that status" (1997: 41).

Deepening democracy for the achievement of citizenship is thus of a dynamic and contentious nature, not another institutional recipe or technocratic 'fix up', but a "process through which citizens exercise ever deepening control over decision which affect their lives, and, as such, it is also constantly under construction (Gaventa 2006).

As will be developed further in Section 2 on social exclusion, *Identity* is crucial to understand citizenship, and the tensions within the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of citizenship. Whereas citizenship can build its strength in its common identities and shared beliefs and goals, it finds its weakness in the exclusion of the non-citizen and in the erasure of difference within included citizens (Lister 1997). As will be shown below, social inclusion will be key to deliver Lister's vision.

Where is “countervailing power¹” ‘located’ in this framework for citizen engagement with the state and other institutions that affect them? Within all the tools and mechanism that citizens have (or are struggling for) to voice their needs, participate in the decisions that affect them, and hold institutions accountable, what is the role of countervailing power?

John Gaventa (2006) identifies several strands in the literature on deepening forms of citizen engagement:

Strands	Elements	Critique
Civil society democracy	Bridging gap between political elites and citizens Watchdog: mobilisation and advocacy Government held to account Democracy based on fair election and strong and independent institutions (NGOs, media, parties, unions, etc.)	Idealisation of democratic institutions Not locally specific- requires particular socio-political conditions Accountability of civil society? Distinction civil society and the state?
Participation and Participatory governance	Co-governance: participation citizens with the state Social actors participating in the core activities of the state Citizens engagement in policy making (e.g. PRSP, local level governance) Should link democratisation and inclusion	Capture by elites and abuse- the tyranny of participation Only particular fora for participation- does not deal with party politics and mobilisation of demands
Deliberative democracy	Citizens address public problems by reasoning together about how best to solve them Citizen juries, deliberative meetings, deliberative polling, participatory budgeting Edialogue and e-democracy Emphasis on recruitment to avoid capture	Favouring consensus at the expense of difference Narrow understandings of reason and how to deliberate Underestimates the value of advocacy, power and conflict

¹ Please note that the concept “countervailing power” was used by Galbraith in business economics to describe the concentration of retail. The concentration of retail would be the countervailing power against the concentration processing/manufacturing industry. “Countervailing power” as a political term similar to the Gramscian concept of Counter-hegemony is also frequently used.

Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG) (Fung and Wright 2003)	Links the strands above saying that democracy can be thin or deep in representation, association and direct participation. Bottom up participation, fostering deliberation, focusing on	Who decides the scope of decision-making? Institutions falling into rent-seeking behaviours Demand of unrealistic levels of popular commitment Ignoring power differentials
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The empowered participatory governance theory (EPG) is a proof that all these different types of citizenship relations can -and should- co-exist. What institutional set up and what type of democratic engagement will be necessary for each sphere of contention will depend on the specific historical and institutional context.

Where does the concept of countervailing power fall in these strands of literature? Countervailing power is a radical conceptualisation of the “civil society democracy” that finds value in citizenship participation in spaces separate from the state (Jones and Gaventa 2002). There is a body of thought that “shifts the terrain away from participation *with* the state to an understanding of citizen participation as collective action with areas *separate* from the state, or *against* the state.” (ibid 24). A “flourishing oppositional civil society is the key to further democratization” (Dryzek 1997: 486). When undertaken separately from the state, citizen participation is less likely to be co-opted or assimilated, or to get trapped in bureaucracy and political resistance within civil society (Jones and Gaventa 2002, Schonwalder 1997) Further, in passive exclusionary states, it can most powerfully push for the further democratisation, as well as “offering protection against the state reversing its democratic commitments” (Dryzek 1997: 486).

This does not amount to saying social movements and civil society political mobilisation separately from the state is the sole citizen engagement. On the contrary. The other types of engagement –direct participation, deliberation, representation, etc. - are *made possible* by the use of countervailing power and run simultaneously to the roll out of its socio-political mobilisation.

Therefore, and as will be developed below, the role of countervailing power in the struggle for inclusive citizenship will be to:

- To advocate for *and embody* a deepened democracy
- To negotiate the inclusionary and exclusionary tensions within citizenship
- To hold institutions to account – the state but also other private and public actors
- To advocate for, mobilise for and deliver social change
- To propose *and embody* alternative worldviews and practices

2. Social inclusion/ exclusion

The history of the struggles towards citizenship is ridden with inclusionary and exclusionary forces. Formal definitions of citizenship are rooted in the origin of the concept in the Enlightenment, as a way of holding the nation-state into account with regards to its formal duties and rights. Further, in that period, citizenship became to be the main identity versus alternative identities such as religion, family, possessions or rank. Women however, did not get the right to property or signing contracts till the 19th century.

According to Kabeer (2002) the nature of colonisation created a wholly different paradigm in developing countries. The need for indirect rule created the ‘reinvention’ of local structures for domination. Colonialism crystallised fluid social arrangements to separate communities to govern by own customs and traditions under a dominant imperial state, empowering small privileged groups. (13). Thus- differently from western countries- religion, tribe and caste became politicised. Independence was organised along these lines, through the mobilisation as religious, ethnic and tribal communities with immutable and collective rights, rather than as individual and free citizens. Such differences remain intact in the postcolonial state.”The highly partial, incomplete and fragmented notions of citizenship with result often serve to reproduce, rather than disrupt, the socially ascribed statuses of kinship, religion, ethnicity, race, caste, gender and so on in the public domain.” (18)

Even in western states, the homogenizing role of citizenship has been contested, through women’s movements, civil rights movements and others, advocating for the recognition of diversity and the redressing of exclusionary social processes.

Lister (1997) finds two types of exclusion in mainstream thinking about citizenship: firstly, those who are not members of the nation state, such as migrants and asylum seekers, left unprotected against exploitation and abuse and secondly, the invisibilisation of difference and alternative identities under a ‘false universalism’ (68).

The way forward, to reap the empowering benefits of agency and rights that lies within the concept of citizenship, according to Lister, the principle of *inclusiveness*:

(...) strengthening the inclusive side of citizenship’s membership coin while explicitly acknowledging, and as far as is possible challenging, its exclusionary side both within and at the borders of nation-states. In the latter case, this means that a feminist reconstruction of citizenship has to be *internationalist* and *multilayered* in its thinking (...) to address the tension that exists between such an analysis grounded in difference and the universalism that stands at the heart of citizenship. If we see this tension as creative rather than destructive, it is possible to develop an enriched understanding of citizenship both as status and a practice. The underlying principle that I suggest to guide us is that of ‘*differentiated universalism*’ which embodies the creative tension between universalism and particularity or difference. (195-197)

Social inclusion is thus, a key precondition for citizenship.

But, what exactly is social inclusion?

To understand social inclusion, one needs to understand its converse, social exclusion. **Social exclusion** is the term that carries all the theoretical baggage, and inclusion is but the affirmative action to change the circumstances, processes and power relations that lead to social exclusion. To start with the discussion, social exclusion can be defined as “the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society within which they live.” (Deakin et al 1995, quoted in deHaan 1999).

However social exclusion is a highly contested term. Three strands of theory have different perspectives and usages of the term social exclusion (Haan 1999, Silver 1994, Bhalla and Lampeyre 1997).

1. French republican tradition. Drawing on Rousseau and with an emphasis on solidarity. State as the embodiment of the common good of the nation. Exclusion is thus conceptualised as the breaking of the social and cultural bonds of individuals with society.
2. British tradition. Of a more liberal- individualistic nature, it sees social actors primarily as “individuals, who are able to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic divisions of labour. Unenforced rights and market failures are seen as common causes of exclusion” (Haan 1999: 6).
3. Monopoly paradigm (Silver 1994): Weberian and Marxian notion, particularly influential in Northern Europe. It emphasizes the existence of unequal power relations in the constitution of the social order. Closed groups monopolise resources and meaning, effectively restricting the access of outsiders. Inequality will thus overlap with these groupings.

Why is the concept useful?

Social exclusion is a very powerful concept because:

- It is a *multidimensional* concept: it includes social, economic and cultural disadvantages and inequalities
- “It captures an dimension of the experience of certain groups being somehow ‘set apart’ or ‘locked out’ of participation of social life” (Kabeer 2000:84)
- It conceptualises, on the one hand, a condition or an outcome, and, on the other hand, a dynamic *process*:

As a *condition* or an outcome, exclusion can result from (i) their social identity (for example race, gender, ethnicity, caste or religion) or (ii) their social local (areas that are remote, stigmatised or suffering from war or conflict). (...) As a dynamic *process*, social exclusion is governed by (a) social and political relations and (b) access to organisations and institutional sites of power (Beale and Piron 2005:9).

- It is a relational concept: “it draws attention to the production of disadvantage through the active dynamics of social interaction” (Kabeer 2000.84), it pushes us to look into the exclusionary relationships based on power inequalities and the violation of rights (DFID 2005, Sen 1998).

For heuristic purposes, we can look at social exclusion as a product of two vectors: distribution inequalities –economic exclusion -and lack of recognition – cultural exclusion. Processes can go beyond formal and material deprivation to elements of identity and ideology (Jones and Gaventa 2002; Haan 1999; Sen 1998).

The economic end of the exclusion spectrum would deal with (i) labour exploitation, (ii) marginalisation understood as a lack of access to livelihoods or confinement to poorly paid, undesirable forms of work and (iii) deprivation (denial of minimum standards of living).

The cultural vector would be the “forms of injustice stemming from social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. (...) (How) social groups invisibilise, seek to impose dominant values, or routinely devalue and disparage certain categories of people”, (Kabeer 2000:84) thus undermining their self-confidence. Examples could alternative sexualities, stigmatised forms of illness- Leprosy, HIV-AIDS, etc-. Other sources of discrimination can be rooted in urban despective perceptions of the rural people, and to particular forms of livelihood, e.g. migrant labourers, pastoralists.

Obviously enough, disadvantages faced by the excluded often are interrelated, overlap and on occasions there are synergies between forms of exclusion. For example poor people in developed countries can be treated in derogatory ways and suffer forms of social discrimination. Another example would be the fact that people with the same skin colour may be classified socially as white, coloured or black according to their income and status. On the other hand, cultural disadvantage, due to despised identities, can lead to economic discrimination: those groups will be less likely to be employed or to maintain their jobs.

As shall be shown in the following sections there are different status and processes in which economic disadvantage is *bound up* with cultural-valuational disadvantage. Kabeer, following on Fraser 1997, calls them ‘bivalent collectivities’. These can be gender, ethnicity, race, caste and others. We will see them in detail below.

Using a thematic approach, another classification used by Bhalla and Lampeyre (1997) would be:

- a. Economic dimension: inequalities in income and production and access to goods and services
- b. Social dimension: closure of groups, moral economy, social status, discrimination against women, ethnic and the subsequent distribution of resources and opportunities. 3 main categories:
 - 1. Access to social services (e.g. health and education)
 - 2. Access to the labour market (precariousness of employment as distinct from low pay); and
 - 3. The opportunity for social participation and its effects on the social fabric (greater crime, juvenile delinquency, homelessness, etc). It includes relational aspects between individuals and between citizens and the State.
- c. Political dimension: denying particular human and political (sic) rights. Citizenship rights: civil, political, socioeconomical.

Social exclusion is a term coined in the West. How transmissible is it to the context of developing countries?

How can a term that was used loosely in the North to explore issues related problematic people and conditions in industrialised economies be translated into Southern contexts? For example, poverty is marginal in Europe and can be a source of exclusion, but what happens in the South where poverty is so widespread?

Most authors do actually feel the nature of the concept of social exclusion allows for the use in the South, as it is a *relational* concept that focuses on *causality and process*. (Hickey and DuToit 2007, Bhallah and Lampeyre 1997, DFID 2005). For that reason, it includes and goes beyond conventional poverty analysis – as it includes an analysis of the dynamics that keep certain groups poor, while maintaining the multidimensional elements of the latest work on poverty (Smith 2007).

Haan, A. de 1999 and Hickey and DuToit (2007) find that the social exclusion approach allows to theoretically “bring together a series of meso-level concepts –such as class, ethnicity, and gender- in ways that make explicit the linkages between them in relation to persistent forms of

poverty”(3). Some feminist scholars strongly disagree with the incorporation of gender within social exclusion, as it does not allow for the nuances and complexity of an analysis of gender relations (Jackson 1999). Nevertheless, Kabeer proposes to use the term (2000, 2002), as long as the analysis doesn’t make the mistake of equating gender with exclusion, but looking into how gender relations can differentiate or exacerbate other forms of exclusion.

Adverse Incorporation

However, how correct is the dichotomy Excluded/worse off vs. Included/better off?

The reality of the every-day life of disadvantaged groups is much different. The terms of inclusion can be problematic, disempowering or inequitable. Most frequently ‘set apart’ groups are not completely marginal to society, but they engage with it in inequitable ways, such as in clientelist or neopatrimonial relations (Hickey and DuToit 2007). The concept of *adverse incorporation* aims to bridge this gap. As Geoff Wood puts it:

“In contexts of highly imperfect markets, corrupt state practices, and patriarchal norms, poor people (especially women and children) face a problematic search for security in income flows and stable access to stocks and services. They are obliged to manage this vulnerability through investing in and maintaining forms of social capital which produce desirable short-term, immediate outcomes and practical needs while postponing and putting at permanent risk more desirable forms of social capital which offer the strategic prospect of supporting needs and maintaining rights in the longer term” (Wood, 2000: 18-9).

These exploitative patron client relationships from an adverse incorporation perspective would not only consider the exploitative aspects of such relationships, but also examine the institutional arrangements and cultural frameworks that make it difficult for clients to leave (Wood 2003). In extreme poverty, people engage in dependant patron-client relationships in exchange for their vote or support, their participation in conflict, support in an emergency or for their guarantee of labour: “the threat of withdrawal of support by patron (...) influence the behaviour of the dependent household. (Thus) voting behaviour, joining or forming associations, exercising freedom of expression is curtailed by the relationship. It influences the processes of rights claiming, undercutting it” (Kabeer 2002)

Further, adverse incorporation tends to see poverty and inequality “not as contingent remainders (the result of limitations or failure of growth) but rather as a regular and unexceptional by-product of processes of accumulation and social differentiation that accompany growth.” (DuToit 2004)

Extreme scarcity, people engage in asymmetrical relationships, patronage and domination: in exchange for political or factional support, support in conflict, aid in emergency, guaranteed supply of labour.

The threat of withdrawal of support by patron (this is very much in the idea of the unequal inclusion) - influences the behaviour of dependent household. Voting behaviour, joining or forming associations, exercising freedom of expression curtailed by the relationship. Influences the processes of rights claiming, undercutting it.

The risks of using social inclusion/exclusion

Two major critiques have arisen with regards to the use of social inclusion/exclusion.

1. It lacks an inherent focus on *agency*, and risks portraying the excluded as helpless victims. It ignores the fact that marginal groups may have a degree of political agency in certain spaces at the margins. (Hickey and DuToit 2007).
2. It represents a depolitization of the debates- a discourse of exclusion by the included, which portray their existing lifestyles and consumption as the norm and the aspired goal. Demands of redress thus reproduce the society that marginalises them. (Navarro 2008)
3. It risks supporting the status quo by implying there is the possibility of bringing marginal people into the existing social structure without any need to radically change that structure (Sayed and Soudien 2003 in Eyben and Lovett 2004).

Gender and social exclusion

The subordination of women has been largely researched in development and feminist literature. As mentioned above, gender itself is not the synonym of exclusion, but the social relations and the institutional dynamics that mediate gender relations (Whitehead 1979). The social exclusion of women is pervasive, and ranges from economic to cultural-valuational discrimination.

The economic end of the spectrum

Gender is a key structuring principle in the productive and reproductive distribution of labour, as well as a key driver of inequalities in control and property of assets (Deere and Leon 2003, 1981). Women enter the labour markets in inferior terms to men, they earn less, are hired in more casual and informal jobs, and they are rarely in managerial position. Women's diversification strategies keep them in poverty –engaging in low return activities. Increase work burdens are added to their reproductive and household work. (Whitehead and Kabeer 2001). Land and property is distributed unequally. Either women receive no rights to property, have fewer rights than men or else their entitlements are mediated by male family members (Kabeer 2000).

Women are invisibilised in agriculture. The stereotypes on farmers view the male of the household as the main agriculturalist and the wife as the “helper” (Deere and Leon 1997). In parallel, neoliberal policies have brought about the ‘feminisation of agriculture’ (Deere 2005): the decline in public support, the vulnerability to the volatility of input markets and stagnant agricultural growth is affecting agricultural livelihoods, but particularly women, as they are engaging with the labour market in unfavourable terms in comparison to men (Rao 2006). Women are the flexible, casual labour in emerging non traditional agro-exports (e.g. fruit and vegetables) and very frequently have to take over small-holder farming as well, as male members of the household are forced to migrate due to the declining value of agriculture, and women have thus to diversify their livelihood strategies into subsistence agriculture to ensure the households survival, thus exacerbating their workload (Deere 2005). Gender inequalities are thus not a by-product of late capitalism, but the global neoliberal system *feeds on* these inequities for its expansion: “the sub- ordinate position of women in production is not just derived from the characteristics of their employment; the development of capitalism takes advantage of and reproduces the continuing subordination of women.” (Deere and Leon 1981: 360)

Land and gender exclusion

Land, the most important property of the peasantry, is usually owned by men. In few countries do women reach even 25% of the total of landowners. When men and women both own land, men tend to own larger and better quality parcels. Land property inequalities are related to male preference in inheritance, male privilege in marriage, male bias in community and state

programmes of land distribution and well as gender bias in the market. (Deere and Leon 2003). During agrarian reforms, land titles have been given to the males of the households, excluding women-headed households and women within mixed households, thus unable to ask for credit or join cooperatives. (Deere 2003). Land property –and titling- is thus fundamental to women. Mechanisms for gender inclusion have to be included in agrarian reform, including joint titling and titling to female headed households, as well as focusing on inheritance rights so as not to leave widows and daughters unprotected. Land rights are important for women because (i) they increase agricultural production and thus increase their wellbeing of women and their children and subsequently of the community (Productivist approach); but also because they increase women's bargaining power within the household and the community: they will find a spouse –or finish an unacceptable relationship with him- with greater ease, will have more decision making power in the intrahousehold allocation of labour and distribution of income. It will also bring them security at old age. Thus it is an instrument for improving status and reducing gender inequalities (empowerment argument). (Deere and Leon 1997; Deere 2003)

The devaluation of women

The subordination of women does not stop in the lack of access to material resources and services. Injustice normally extends to cultural devaluation of women by dominant discourses. Society projects trivialising, disparaging and demeaning representations of women (Kabeer 2000).

The main processes of cultural exclusion are (i) dichotomisation/essentialisation and (ii) the assignation of derogatory/undesirable traits to things coded feminine. Unequal gender relations create false universal dichotomies between man and woman, creating the myth that discovers “essence” in natural characteristics, putting forward certain characteristics of what women are that do not question the subordination of women (Stephen 2007). Further, after creating this false essentialised dichotomies between man and women, positive traits are assigned to “the masculine” and negative traits to “the feminine” as well as their assigned spheres of influence (Lister 1997)(see table 1).

This cultural devaluation contributes to attitudinal discrimination, sexual harassment, domestic violence and denial of full citizenship rights (Kabeer 2000). Cultural devaluation of women

reinforces economic exclusion, as it invisibilises her productive work, and marginalises her in under-paid, casual and insecure labour practices added to her reproductive work.

Table 1: false dichotomies: gender (Lister 1997)

Public, male, citizen	Private, female, non-citizen
Abstract, disembodied, mind	Particular, embodied, rooted in nature
Rational, able to apply dispassionate reason and standards of justice	Emotional, irrational, subject to desire and passion; unable to apply standards of justice
Impartial, concerned with public interest	Partial, preoccupied with private, domestic concerns
Independent, active, heroic and strong	Dependent, passive, weak
Upholding the realm of freedom, of the human	Maintaining the realm of necessity, of the natural and repetitious

Ethnicity and social exclusion

Race and ethnicity

Imperial and colonial European cultural practices have found ways to socially construct and select biological difference to justify exclusion and thus maintain their cultural and material hegemony for the last two to three centuries (Eyben and Lovett 2004).

Wade (1997, quoted in Eyben and Lovett 2004) understands race as a social construct that was part of the colonizing effort. Domination was based on the creation of dichotomies similar to those exposed for gender domination, although on this case between the “civilised white” and the “savage black” (Mamdani 1996, quoted in Kabeer 2000).

Table 2: false dichotomies: race

White colonialists	Colonised blacks
Citizens	Subjects
Human	Less than human
Do not labour the land	Labour the land
Modern law	Customary law
Religion	Paganism
Culture	Ritual

Arts	Crafts
Linguistic Discourse	Vernacular Chatter
Civilized	Savage

These stereotypical images carry on today, where the pervasive devaluation of “non-white” characteristics leads to “demeaning stereotypical depictions in the media, violence, harassment and disrespect in all spheres of everyday life, attitudinal discrimination, and exclusion or marginalisation in public spheres and deliberative bodies” (Kabeer 2000: 85).

Cultural devaluation is closely interlinked with political and economical discrimination and deprivation. On occasions, people of colour have unequal recognition under the law, as it the case of Palestinians in Occupied Territory. Sometimes the law exists, but it is not properly enforced, thus “non-whites” are segregated to the lower echelons of society. Access to services (health, education, housing, etc) can be denied. People of colour are often excluded from social networks. Unemployment statistics are high, and those who work have to carry out low-paid, dirty, casual and unwanted occupations. (ICHRP 2001).

There is discussion whether the act of distinguishing between members of the community and strangers is an act of domination in itself or not. To resolve this, one can consider ethnicity as a self-ascribed concept, and race, as a concept constructed by the powerful to dominate. (Eyben and Lovett 2004). As we will see below in our section on social movements, on occasions it is in the interest of the oppressed communities to appropriate the external categorisation for the purpose of social mobilisation, in order to engage with the audiences that can support them in their struggle. These categories can be “indigenous”, “woman”, etc. that can be used for mobilisation even though they represent a degree of essentialism (Stephen 2005).

Indigeneity and social exclusion

There are 300 to 500 million indigenous people in the world, who represent 80% of the cultural and biological heritage and occupy 20% of the world surfaces.² In many countries, indigenous

² Study guide : the rights of indigenous peoples 2003. University of Minnesota.
www1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/studyguides/indigenous.

people face threats to their existence. Indigenous peoples are more likely to be poor, unemployed, or illiterate. They are exploited in the workplace and are discriminated against in school and the public sphere. They are denied to use their own language and traditions. They often lose access to their traditional lands and natural resources. Often indigenous peoples have suffered efforts of assimilation by central governments, forcing changes in modes of production and lifestyles.

Caste and social exclusion

Caste has justified the discrimination and degrading treatment of a vast population. Over 250 million people worldwide continue to suffer domination and social exclusion through caste. Caste is descent-based and hereditary in nature. It is a status acquired by birth into a particular caste, independently of religion. Caste embodies a ‘sacralised’ rigid social stratification that determines occupation, housing and marriage. Lower castes are continuously denied access to resources and opportunities, through the threat of social ostracism, economic boycott and on occasion violence (Human Rights Watch 2001, Sheth 2004). Lower castes are stigmatised, considered unworthy and polluted, and spatially segregated to avoid interaction (Kabeer 2000).

Other forms of exclusion

The list of forms of exclusion can go on indefinitely, as “Othering” and “Objectification” are a way of creating “closure”, of maintaining and reproducing structural relations of inequality. (Eyben and Lovett 2004). Illnesses such as HIV-AIDS or leprosy, alternative sexualities, and many other collectivities are systematically excluded from economic opportunities and positive constructions of the self.

To name a couple relevant to our chapter:

- Urban- rural divide: the rural areas are devalued as backward and poverty is far more severe. Access to water and sanitation, health care, housing, transport and communications is much lower in the urban areas. Rural wages are lower, and employment is less secure. (Khan 2000)
- Discrimination of alternative livelihoods, e.g. pastoralists

Pastoralist societies are under severe threat. Due to population growth, to the privatization and consolidation of agricultural land, to the expansion of game and natural parks, the increased commoditisation of the pastoralist economy, the migration to the cities, their livelihoods are

jeopardized. This is exacerbated by recurrent droughts and protracted conflicts. (Fratkin 1997). Very often they have no access to services such as health and education. Pastoralists communities are often despised and negatively depicted by those in power, and are rarely adequately represented in the political institutions that affect them. Often they have been the unfortunate of government settlement schemes and livestock intensification projects that have been an obstacle to pastoralists' development and a way of centralised domination more than developmental support.

So what do we do about social exclusion?

If social inclusion is an unconditional pre-requisite for citizenship, how do we achieve social inclusion? Bringing agency back into the picture.

In many cases, subordinated identities –women, ethnic communities, etc- suffer “exploitation, pain, suffering, struggle and marginality”. But in many cases they have found ways of adapting, of “coping, of redefining marginality, of struggling and resisting, of encountering joy and happiness in human relations. In some instances, they have also built strong organisations and have moved slowly but steadily to confront the systems of inequality that push them to the margins” (Stephen 1997:6)

In order to achieve social inclusion changes must include:

- 1. Increase in depth of democracy and community participation, through institutional shifts and increased access (Kabeer 2002; Haan 1999).**

Social exclusion theorists see the state as the ultimate responsible for social inclusion, as the key duty-bearer of human rights. State intervention includes efforts in affirmative action to ensure equal access to resources and opportunities (Tilly 2007). Social protection policies should be put in place, including the “re-regulation of labour and other markets, the inclusion of anti-discrimination policies, plus asset redistribution, fair trade, ‘affirmative action’ and economic empowerment” (Hickey and DuToit 2007:23). There is a need to increase the engagement and the accountability of the state and institutions such as markets and civil society, that should be reshaped to deliver civil and political rights –through courts, police, judiciary and political systems- and social, cultural and economic –through social protection systems, corporations and trade unions. (Kabeer 2002: 21).

2. Identity, ideology and agency (de Haan 1999; Kabeer 2002; Eyben and Lovett 2004)

To tackle cultural devaluations of communities, there is a need to transform how excluded groups view themselves. Self definition and positive perceptions of the self are crucial for the exercise of agency necessary to challenge unequal power relations. Ensuring there are spaces for people to reflect upon their situation and to understand and challenge the mechanisms and value systems that exclude them –through transformatory reflective education- is a necessary step for emancipation. (Kabeer 2002). The transformation of identities has to go beyond the excluded communities, there is a need to change “*everyone’s* sense of self”, or we will run the risk of leaving social arrangements that give rise to exclusion undisturbed (Kabeer 2000: 95) Changes in cultural valuations of people and their ways of life must happen across the board. In order for durable social change that ensures social exclusion, there is a need to change the particular way people see the world, human nature and relationships. Thus, there is a need for changes in ideology and discourse (Eyben and Lovett 2004).

3. Associations and collective action: protest movements and prolonged struggles. (Kabeer 2002, Tilly 2007)

Collective action has often been a fundamental tool to challenge social exclusion, as they seek to contest relations of dominance. Where participatory mechanisms for citizen engagement and decision-making “are not established by those in authority, they have to be obtained through struggles ‘from below’” (Kabeer 2002: 22). We will explore social movements extensively in Section 4.

Chapter 4 has dealt in detail with new forms of democratic engagement as a way of guaranteeing rights. In order to address the other pillars for the achievement of social inclusion - and thus of inclusive citizenship- we propose the concept of **countervailing power**. This concept shall include both elements of identity, ideology and discourse; and the power of social movements.

3. Building countervailing power

A few thoughts about Power

What do we mean by power? Power is a commonsense concept that helps us understand inequalities and social dynamics. Pinning down a definition is a much more contested exercise – depending on what elements want to be brought into it- but broadly we will say that power can be understood as a capacity to produce or impede change, through the effect on or control of others or the environment.

What kinds of power can we find (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002, quoted in Chambers 2005)?

1. *Power over*: the most commonly recognised. It has connotations of repression, restriction, control, penalisation, denial of access, etc.
2. *Power to*: referring to agency and choice, the capacity to decide and act.
3. *Power with*: meaning the exercise of power collectively, through association and solidarity, normally of the worse-off
4. *Power within*: meaning personal self confidence.

Power will work at 3 levels (Lukes 2005):

- (i) *Direct decision making* in formal institutions
- (ii) *Setting the agenda* and capacity to influence and persuade (what is or out of the table for discussion);
- (iii) *Ideologies* and values, what people think should be discussed. Those who can shape culture and values will hold a vast amount of power- e.g. capitalist consumer culture, faith-based values, etc.

Post-modernists would add another layer: *power as knowledge*. The way the world is understood by all, including those people who shape ideologies and values, would be a form of power that is not on the hands of a person or a group, but everywhere. Belief systems –Discourse- will determine what is right and what is wrong, and determine what is “undeniably true” (Foucault 2000).

These three levels are included in Gaventa’ s Power Cube (Gaventa 2006), a practical tool to map power relations, but defined as (i) invisible (including the two levels of Discourse and

ideology) (ii) Hidden (agenda setting) and (iii) Observable (formal decision making). He adds two dimension of analysis

- Places: global, national and local
- Spaces: (i) Provided/closed (the powerful determine participants and agenda (ii) Invited (relevant stakeholders are invited to participate) and (iii) claimed/created (popular mobilisation and social movements that create a space for them).

Given these elements above, it is clear that power goes much beyond the powerful dictating the rules (power over), but there are also mechanisms for those who are worse off to create their own spaces of power. Through self awareness and reflection (power within) and finding common grounds with others in social mobilisation (power within), there can be room for manoeuvre for change towards social justice.

Power over is not bad in itself, decisions are continuously made, and resources and opportunities are distributed. For example, a representative of a committee will have more powers than the rest of the members, but members will have voluntarily ceded their power. The same goes for inclusive democratic governments, they have power over their citizens, but, they are *accountable* to them and are in that position because citizens have authorised their power to be concentrated in the hands of the government. *Accountability* and *legitimacy* in power relationships will be key to attain social justice.

Countervailing power

The reflections on power above will help us further understand the concept of countervailing power. Countervailing power works at the levels of *power with* and *power within*, progressively struggling for agency (*power to*) and working against *power over*. ‘Bottom up’ social transformations start with the “realities and interests of the powerless (...) extend (ing) upwards to influence the powerful” (Chamber 2006: 101). Through association, solidarity and collective action –in the form of groups, protests, resistance, marches and demonstrations, lobbying- and increased awareness and self confidence- through education for confidence, affirming resistance, speaking out and communicating with others, participatory research, building active constituencies around common concerns, etc.(102)

With regards to the 4 levels of power –decision making, agenda setting, ideologies and discourse- countervailing power will work towards the shaping of decision making and bringing ‘ignored’ issues into the agenda. Most importantly, however, countervailing will work towards challenging mainstream ideologies and value systems instated by the powerful. It must change the belief systems –what is taken for granted, what is ‘common sense’- bringing in the subordinated discourses and cosmovisions of the oppressed and the excluded.

With regards to Gaventa’s dimensions of power, the main value of countervailing power is the claiming and creation of spaces of participation. Working at local, national and global levels, countervailing power must make visible the power mechanisms that construct ideologies and set the agendas.

Counter hegemony

To further understand this it is interesting to look into Gramscian concepts of hegemony and counter hegemony. Gramsci focused on the importance of superstructure in social change, thus restoring the voluntarist side of Marxist theory: a concern with the role of ideas, consciousness and human subjectivity. He emphasized the role of the political, the ideological and the cultural. Capitalist domination does not depend solely on the private ownership of the means of production, but also on the domination of ‘consciousnesses. (Taylor 1995). “Class domination depends thus on coercion *and* consent, by the cultural and ideological acquiescence of subordinate classes”³ (253). This consent is not a stable one, but a continuous struggle of ideologies accommodating to changing circumstances. Hegemony processes work towards the attainment, the maintenance and the consolidation of the status quo: through “common sense making and reinforcement, through dominant hegemonic beliefs, ideas, discourse and knowledge” (Cascao 2007, 5).

How does counter-hegemony come in? By partially or totally breaking the consent: contesting the legitimacy of the previous system and creating alternatives to the status quo (ibid). See figure 1 for a model of hegemonic-counter hegemonic struggles.

³ An interesting quote that Cascao 2007 uses:

“the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressors is the mind of the oppressed” Stephen Bantu Biko, Founder of the Black Consciousness Movement (South Africa)

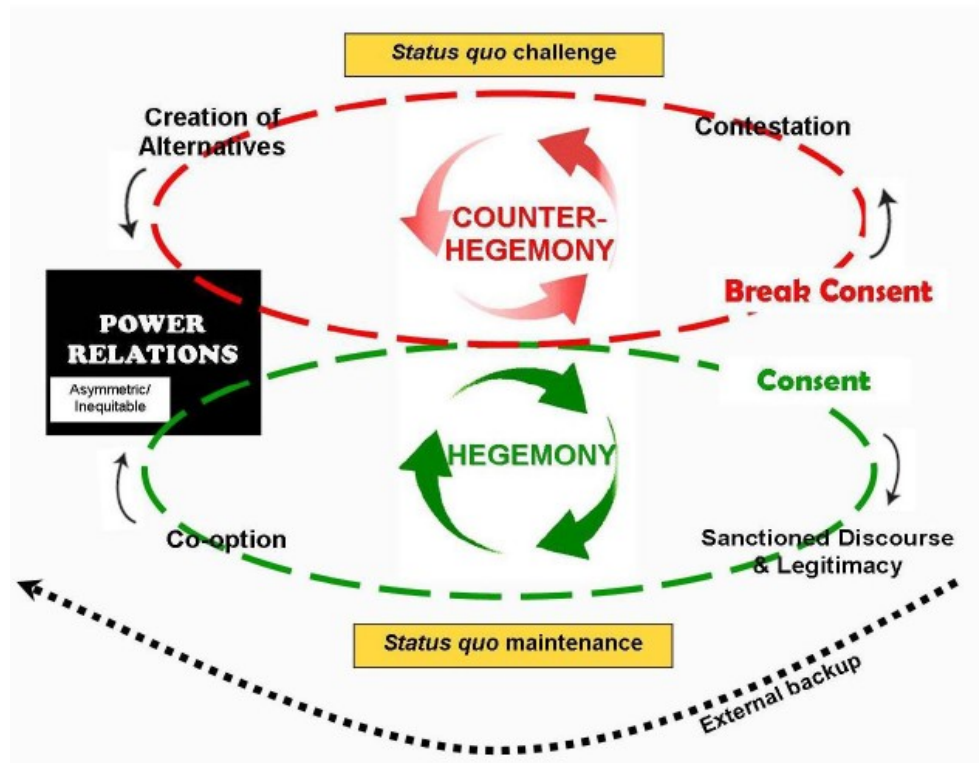


Illustration 1 Hegemony and Counter Hegemony⁴

Thus, if we aim to build up countervailing power, it must be counter-hegemonic in nature, offering inclusive new worldviews and practices.

How does countervailing power build up?

Countervailing power thus builds up through the combined action of:

- A. The strengthening of the watchdog, advocacy and counter hegemonic nature of civil society
- B. Collective action
- C. Resistance
- D. “Dropping out”: the creation of alternative paradigms
- E. Others: building alliances with powerful groups

⁴ Cascao, A.E. 2007 (see reference)

A. Upholding accountability: The role of civil society

Chapter 5 has delved in detail about the role of civil society as a mediator in and promoter of citizen engagement. In this case we refer to civil society as (i) a watchdog to ensure institutions are held to account, (ii) a fundamental agent in counter hegemonic changes in discourse.

Accountability: The state, market actors and civil society itself must be held into account in order to ensure the delivery of the commitments they hold. Accountability describes the rights and responsibilities that exist between people and institutions that affect their lives. The two important components that civil society has to guarantee are (a) answerability –the right to get a response and the obligation to provide one- and (b) enforceability- the capacity to ensure an action is taken and access to mechanisms for redress when accountability fails- (Citizenship DRC 2006: 1) . Histories of protest and citizen engagement have proven to be crucial for accountability. Social mobilisation and “popular expectations of the obligations of government and other institutions to protect rights and deliver services make a difference” (2). This will ensure there is another check on institutions, bringing down corruption, negligence and oversights.

Cultural and political changes in discourse: Gramsci saw civil society as “the site of rebellion against the orthodox as well as the construction of cultural and ideological hegemony, expressed through families, schools, universities, and the media as well as voluntary associations” (Edwards 2003:8), as all these institutions shape ideology and the worldviews of citizens. Civil society has a social role as well that brings people together, promoting positive reinforcements of self-perceptions and empowerment –*power with* and *power within*- civil society is thus “a reservoir of caring, cultural life and intellectual innovation, teaching people the skills of citizenship and nurturing a collection of positive social norms that foster stability (...) (thus) promoting collective action for the common good” (14)

The concept of civil society is much contested, and its use in positive terms on occasions heavily criticised. Neoliberal governments have caused the retrenchment of the state and the progressive disappearance of state provision of social services. Civil society has had to cover that gap, risking becoming service providers instead of agents for social change. (Edwards 2003). Civil society movements towards accountability must be aware of these trends.

B. Social movements

Social movements are often the only recourse that ordinary people possess against better-equipped opponents or powerful states to fight for social justice. These sustained, organised public efforts, draw on social networks, mobilise resources –economic, human and symbolic– and construct common identities and representations in order to effectively promote people’s participation in public politics and promote social change (Tarrow 2005; Tilly 2004). What characterizes social movements is the fact that the interaction with political opponents and elites is *sustained* (unlike riots or rebellions), they are a form of social solidarity and collective identity, they embody a combined purpose (class-based *and* others such as gender, ethnicity, etc.), and that they challenge elites through “disruptive direct action against elites, other groups or cultural codes” (Tarrow 2005: 6). Sydney Tarrow (2005) writes:

“Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontations with elites, authorities and opponents. Such confrontations go back to the dawn of history. But mounting, coordinating and sustaining them against powerful opponents are the unique contribution of the social movement– an invention of the modern age” (2).

Social movement theories developed from the 1960s as a response to a seemingly new phenomenon: collective action and political organisation unaligned with political parties or trade unions, mobilising around issues *different* than class. The dominant models of that time –Marxist and structural-functionalist– experienced difficulty in interpreting this revival of collective action (DellaPorta and Diani 1999).

Literature on social movements and collective can be heuristically divided in four strands that focus on different ‘questions’ regarding social movements:

1. Collective behaviour as the producer of social change through meaning
2. Resource mobilisation theories: introducing strategy and rationality into social movements
3. Political process: paying attention to the political and institutional environment where social movements roll-out

4. New social movements theory

1. Collective behaviour and meaning-making

The structural functionalists considered collective behaviour as the side effects of rapid social transformation. Collective action would arise as crisis behaviours, when feelings of deprivation and aggression combined with the fragmentation of social ties had to be channelled. This framework had great difficulty in explaining how individual frustrations and deprivations then produced social movements.

Collective behaviour theory thus sees collective action not as simply an 'asocial crisis' but goes beyond individual behaviour to look into how people organise and produce change. The most important factor was the importance given to the meanings people assign to social structures: "When existing systems of meaning do not constitute a sufficient basis for social action, new norms emerge, defining the existing situation as unjust and providing a justification for action" (Turner and Killian 1987 quoted in Della Porta and Diani 1999). Thus the study of collective behaviour concentrates on how institutions change through the action new value systems. These new norms appear when the conventional norms fail to adapt to changes in the situation. Collective behaviour theory sees social movements as part of the 'physiological' evolving situation.

Processes of symbolic production and construction of identity are essential components of collective behaviour. We will see these processes in detail below.

These theories are criticized on two grounds (i) it depicts collective action as an unexpected dynamic more than actor-organised strategies and (ii) they don't focus on the structural origins of conflict.

2. Resource mobilisation theory.

Structural-functionalist ideas portrayed participants in social movements as marginal, irrational actors, viewing collective action as an undesirable by-product of the malfunctions in society.

American sociology postulated the contrary, that actors mobilise collectively in a rational way, following their interests. Social movements are "pragmatic in their politics, self controlled in their conduct and thoughtful about their goals" (Ruggiero and Montagna 2008: 4-5).

Organisations and ‘entrepreneurs’ tap on social networks, material and symbolic resources and links with allies to mobilise. Material resources include work, money, concrete benefits, services, etc. and symbolic resources would include authority, moral engagement, faith, friendship and solidarity. Protest actions therefore derive from cost-benefit analysis: “Mobilisation derives from the way in which social movements are able to organize discontent, reduce the costs of action, utilise and create solidarity networks, share incentives among members and achieve external consensus” (DellaPorta and Diani 2001:8)

While many members in society have reasons to desire a change in the situation, it is only some groups that manage to join social movements and claim their rights. According to this theory, if social movement are so dependent on resources, marginalised and poor communities would not be able to engage in collective action. (Ruggiero and Montagna 2008).

These theories have 3 drawbacks: (i) it is indifferent to the structural sources of conflict, (ii) it overlooks the self organisation potential of the excluded groups and (iii) it overdoes rationality, ignoring the role of emotions.

3. Political process

Social movements develop in particular political and institutional environments that constrain or facilitate their action. This approach focuses on this relationship. In challenging the political order, social movements must interact with actors within the hegemonic structures they wish to influence or change.

The degree of openness or closure of a political system will facilitate or discourage the rise of social movement. According to this, centralised and closed states will weaken civil society and incite violence and confrontation, but weak states will encourage the development of civil society and peaceful forms of participation.

Political unrest, the eruption of discontent, is seen when institutional changes occur so that participants in social movements perceive that deprivation and deprivation can be found and redressed. The political system will define, by its relative openness and historical particularities, the expression and the strategies of defiance –marches, protests, sit-ins, etc. (Piven and Cloward 1977:140).

Further, successful movement and practices create new opportunities for action. Strategies and *repertoires* can inspire other movements in other circumstances and locations. Also they can

create ‘consciousnesses. Newly created arenas for communication, new ideologies and theoretical avenues and debates can help people reinterpret their own experience and develop new forms of identity, as happened to women within the civil rights movement in the US. Not only that, it also affected the external environment -publishing, advertising, language, education and party politics- that integrated those value changes (Evans 1978).

Thus in social movements there are three critical elements: (i) the window of opportunity opened in the political process –changes in alliances, political instability, economic processes, etc., (ii) the resources available and (iii) the subjectivity of actors that makes resources useful and collective action viable i.e. the development of political consciousness that helps actors and groups frame their situation as unjust and liable to change: “cognitive liberation” (McAdam 1982)

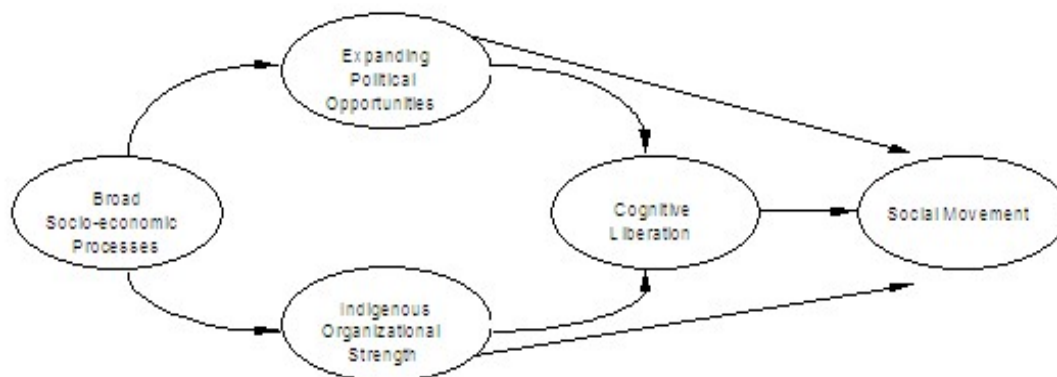


Illustration 2. MacAdams model of emergence of social movements

Through his theory of contentious politics, Tarrow has developed further the political process paradigm to understand how social movements evolve in time, depending on the effect they have on the actors within structures of power, describing them as cycles of contention. Contention will be sustained depending on the ‘breadth’ mobilisation *and* the reactions of elites and other groups (Tarrow 2005).

The critique of these theories are mainly (i) political reductionisms (ii) little attention to the cultural innovations of recent social movements (youth, women, sexuality, minorities) and (iii) ignore the structural causes of protest.

4. New social movements theory

After the Second World War, social transformation in “post-industrial” societies put into doubt the centrality of the class conflict into question. The Marxist conviction that political and social conflicts were based on the ownership of the means of production and the capitalist – worker relations could no longer explain the new forms of collective action that emerged in the 1970s and onwards. People no longer mobilise primarily around class, but around gender relations, human rights, environment, ethnic identity, peace and the quality of life (Ruggiero and Montagna 2008). The priority is social transformations as much as economic⁵.

New social movement theories incorporate cultural issues as central to civil society mobilisation.

“By drawing attention to the ethnic, gender, and racial composition of movements that were suppressed by those that gave priority to class position, new social movements theorists opened the stage of history to many new actors. The faceless masses and the suppression of difference in the interest of promoting unity were no longer viable strategies. The new leaders embodied the muted demands of diverse groups as women, ethnic and religious groups contested repressive conditions. In the course of their struggles, they expanded the cultural potential for symbolizing their objectives and embodying their concerns (Nash 2005:10).”

New social movements struggle for post-materialistic values; they are a form of resistance with the ‘colonisation of every-day life’, through the pursuit of symbolic and spiritual fulfilment. New and revived forms of communication and expression are explored. The actors are no longer politicians, industrial capitalists and workers, but those who inhabit the periphery of industrial production. (Habermas 1981).

These new forms of social mobilisation focus on the production of information and communication, challenging the apparatus governing the production of information.

⁵ Calhoun 1993 puts into question the novelty of new social movements, claiming that identity considerations were included in several examples in the 19th century. It was, he explains, the social theories that obscured these considerations in favour of class explanations.

Collective action relates to the autonomy of daily life and identity. (Ruggiero and Montagna 2008)

DellaPorta and Diani see the following differences between “new” and class-based movements (1999:12):

- critical ideology with respect to modernism and progress
- decentralised and participatory organisational structures and networks
- defence of interpersonal solidarity
- reclamation of autonomous spaces, rather than material advantages

Unlike the other theories, it looks into the structural causes of conflict, and brings in complexity and contestation into the picture, avoiding simplification. The downside is that they don't explain how conflict- even if it is about identity instead of economics- leads into action.

Identity and social movements

Identity is thus a key element in contemporary social movements. Priority is given to the understanding of symbolic production as a crucial element of domination (hegemony), and at the same time, of emancipation (counterhegemony). As Mullings puts it: “transformative change must combat the barriers based on race, class and gender in order to achieve society precisely because of the reinforcement of hierarchy that occurs in each category” (Mullings 1997).

As we will see below in Section 4, the resurgence of identity and difference in the theoretical arena, the suppression of difference even within social movements that were claiming for social justice. Representation was dominated by elites within the movements. Indigenous peoples were obscured under rural peoples' struggles, women farmers were invisibilised movements for agrarian reform, black and homosexual women were invisibilised in women's movements, etc. New social movements bring pride to identity and ethnicity: sexuality, ethnicity, rustic origins or tribal membership is no longer masked but celebrated. (Nash 2005)

Several authors have put forward the tensions that exist between (i) the need for a collective identity, shared beliefs and solidarity in social movements and (ii) the risk of essentialisation and the subordination of different identities within the movement. (Stephen 2005; 1997; Nash 2005, Sylvain 2005). For collective action to crystallise there is a need for the development of a shared identity and purpose *and* public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment.

(Tilly 2004). These two are different, as meaning-making *within* the movement is quite different to the ‘external’ representation it decides to portray (Sylvain 2005). Both the processes that take place to achieve common understandings and messages require a degree of ‘sameness’ and ‘essentialisation’ (Stephen 1997). Given that precisely homogenization and essentialisation are key processes in subordination, the trade-offs between ‘representation’ and ‘identity’ must be carefully negotiated. As will be shown below, it is the depth of democracy *within* social movements the best way forward to negotiate that trade off.

Let’s not get carried away...

New social movement theory was born in post-industrial western societies. Post-modern claims of post-materialism are very difficult to hold in the global South, where material deprivation is still a central concern. Social movements in the South –indigenous, women, race, squatters, peasant struggles and others- have proved that identity is crucial to understand exclusion and subordination. Thus social movements must be seen as cultural struggles, but also economical and political (Escobar and Alvarez 1992, Nash 2005).

“New” new social movements? Globalised civil society mobilisation

Globalisation in the turn of the millennium has brought the global into the local. The retrenchment of the nation-states, the liberalisation of capital flows, and the internationalisation of production are radically changing the lives of world citizenry. Privatisation and commoditisation are transforming the economies. Large scale rural-urban and international migrations are taking place.

(Globalisation has) “brought about both interdependence and disjunction. The feeling of disconnection and exclusion in relation to the transformations occurring in space and time has never been so profound. In other words, never have so many been integrated by virtue of the way in which their exclusion is deepened” (Sousa Santos 2007: xxi)

Communication technology has increased the depth and breadth of interfaces between people and organisations with profound changes on the spatial and temporal scales for social action.

Globalisation is not achieving a homogenizing process, because “social movements often subvert or transform the thrust of these processes in accord with central values related to human rights, environmental conservation, autonomy and social justice.” (Nash 2005:12).

Since Seattle 1999, global civil society has successfully managed to mobilise against the negative elements of globalisation. Protests against neo-liberal globalisation, that favours corporations over the human security of global citizens, have become widespread.

Social emancipation against neo-liberal globalisation is of a different nature, as new social agents and social practices have emerged. Struggles are negotiated through local, national and global networks. This alternative globalisation is what Boaventura De Sousa Santos calls ‘Counterhegemonic globalisation’. (2007)

Social movements and countervailing power: lessons learnt

After reviewing the literature on social movements, what are the conditions that they must meet to maximise their contribution towards countervailing power?

- The participatory and inclusive negotiation of identity
 - Shared/ common understanding within the movement
 - Public ‘representation’
- The mobilisation of resources
 - Material: work, money, benefits, services
 - Symbolic: authority, moral engagement, faith, friendship, solidarity
- Transformative reflection: critical reflection and action; personal and cultural change
- Building up horizontal solidarity links *within* the movements: incentives and ‘belonging’.
- Transformation of ideology: changing institutions that ‘produce’ mainstream understandings of the world.
- Identification *and creation* of ‘political opportunities’
- Building up of alliances
- The use of networks
- The use of various forms of protest, from conventional to innovative and ‘non conventional’

Successful or not?

How do we judge a social movement as effective or successful?

- Impact changes in policy (e.g. agrarian reform, anti-discrimination laws, etc.)
- Opening the agenda to alternative concerns (e.g. the questioning of neo-liberal reform programmes in mainstream fora)
- Changing the value system and the institutions that reproduce it (e.g. depictions of women, alternative sexualities, race in the media and other sites of cultural contestation)
- Degree of social inclusion *within* the movement (see below)

C. Resistance

Many of the structuralist theories that try to explain subordination and social exclusion often give an extraordinary weight of structure over agency. People in the margins risk being portrayed as helpless, powerless victims.

Actor-oriented theories put forward a different picture, dominating structural systems are in perpetual struggles with “people’s capacity to contest, challenge, negotiate and capture” (Eyben and Lovett 2004: 23): in short, to resist. Long sees power struggles as fluid and changeable, in a foucauldian sense of ‘where there is power, there is resistance’:

“although it may be true that (...) structural changes result from the impact of outside forces (...) all forms of external intervention necessarily enter the life-worlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures (...) (Long 1995: 20) ”

People thus have capacity to change their lives, even the ones considered powerless. These continuously exercise resistance and are in continuous struggle against the oppressive system that subordinates them. (Scott 1985). In his ‘weapons of the weak’, Scott describes strategies for resistance that peasants engage in: “foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on” (xvi). These strategies require low levels of coordination and planification, “they make use of implicit understandings and informal networks; (and) they often represent a form of individual self help. Without representing a direct confrontation with authority, resistance represents a constant struggle,

probing for weaknesses and, in the language of social movements theory, of the opening of ‘political opportunities’ for favourable change.

D. The essential role of competing paradigms and realities: “Dropping out” from oppressive regimes

One of the greatest powers of the hegemon is to silence alternatives. Such has been the greatest power of neo-liberal reform, the myth of its inevitability. Thatcher’s “There is no alternative” and Fukuyama’s ‘end of history’ were an almost complete ideological victory of the mainstream, where all critiques to deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation were pushed to the fringes. Global social movements have managed to crack the monolithical paradigm, putting into question the assumptions it conveys. (Klein 2002). Thus ‘Another World Is Possible’!

The importance of counter-hegemonic knowledge(s)

Power inequalities generate different material inequalities and different access to resources and opportunities. But most important of all, they generate dominant knowledges that reproduce those power inequalities. Counterhegemonic struggles must be able to challenge dominant paradigms. “It becomes essential, therefore, for social actors to win the struggles that take place over the attribution of specific social meanings to particular events, actions and ideas.”(Long 1992: 24)

Emancipation must bring with it the recognition of rival knowledges, it must bring with it a critique of epistemology, of how we understand and construct the world. Sousa Santos advocates for the recognition of rival knowledges and the embrace of multicultural science (Sousa Santos 2005).

We will see in Chapter 7 how to bring new ways of knowing and understanding to the fore.

The importance of alternative practices- embodying social change

“Dropping out” has been defined Schwalb et al. as “rejecting the beliefs and practices of the dominant culture as oppressive, and trying to forge non-oppressive alternatives.” (2000:429) and founding ‘counter-cultural groups’. This is another form of adaptation/resistance to relations of domination.

The existence of powerful counter-cultural groups has proven to be an important driver for social change. For example the Soviet enterprise and the cold war tensions reshaped the concept of social justice bringing to the fore the welfare state. Western capitalist countries saw that the deprivation of the working class was an untenable situation and a fertile ground for socialist revolutionary movements. In order for the system to remain unchanged in its essence, partial redistribution and provision of basic services, as well as improving the labour conditions of workers were granted (Ripoll 2008, Jackson 2005).

I here present a few examples of alternative practices:

The **Campesino to campesino** movement (Farmer to farmer) is a grassroots movement that has been developing in Central America for the past 30 years. Poor peasant farmers teach one another how to protect their environment while they earn a dignified living. Campesino and campesino links campesino communities across village, municipal and national divisions using agro-ecology (see below) and horizontal learning networks. This social movement challenges not only the effect of neo-liberal reform in agriculture, but also the modern productivist models, and top-down knowledge. Technological research and innovation for sustainable farming is led by farmers themselves.

Agroecology is a vision that emphasises the development and application of integrated approaches that build on local knowledge and skills. It strives to be historically and geographically situated, understanding the socio-ecological interactions at a local level. It stresses:

“the development and application of integrated approaches that build on local knowledge and skills. Moreover, both stress the democratisation of agricultural research and development, support diverse forms of co-inquiry and co-management, and promote people-centred learning and action to foster change. Consequently, they do not take complex ecological and socio-economic issues and socio-ecological interactions in agriculture for granted, or focus on some narrow aspects of them by creating a science of the parts. Instead, they problematise them and, by so doing, embrace complexity and diversity – potentially supporting multiple pathways to sustainability. (Thompson et al 2008: 32)

The concepts of agroecology and participatory rural development, build on local knowledge embedded in local experience. Scott (1998) calls this ‘metis’. In contrast with abstract, institutionalised knowledge, ‘metis’ is a fluid, ‘plastic’ form of knowledge, that

incorporates complex social and material tasks, accounts for uncertainty and involves elements of experience and experimentation, intuition, and “the power of the ‘practiced eye’” (Scott 1998:327, quoted in Thompson et al 2005).

The **organic movement**, born in the early 1900s as a response to the introduction to synthetic fertilizers was at first a form of “dropping out” of ecologically minded farmers in the North. However, many farmers in developing countries have joined in⁶, as a form of economic self reliance, to “find alternatives to decreased access to agricultural inputs, natural resource conservation, food self-sufficiency, and rural and wider development” (Scialabba 2000:1) as well as trying to find new markets. The organic movement has been key to point out the unsustainability of conventional industrial agriculture, and the need to rethink farmers’ relationships with the environment.

The **fair-trade movement** finds its grounding in the concept of the moral economy, where the exchange of ‘things’, is not commodity transaction, but the exchange is imbued with the meaning of the social relationship that exists between the parts. Traditionally, there was a relationship between the seller and the buyer, between the farmer and the consumer, and the exchange served to boost social solidarity. The fair trade movements born in the 60s attempted to bring elements of social sustainability and dignity to production, bringing the consumers back in interface with the producers to counter commoditisation and deprivation through the market. Fair trade acts in two fronts (i) the economical one, ensuring adequate prices and standard of living to farmers and, most importantly (ii) the political side, promoting cooperative development and advocating for a different agri-food system based on equitable relationships. (Reference!). Unfortunately, retail-led fair trade has heavily undermined the political elements of fair-trade and co-opted the movement.

Community-Supported Agriculture is another social movement that is also challenging commoditisation and neo-liberal agri-food systems. It is most popular in Europe and the US, and it aims to build up risk sharing among producers and consumers, building up social solidarity within the communities, through organic or biodynamic community farms. CSA also tries to

⁶ IFOAM, the international federation of Organic Agriculture Movements, unites more than 750 member organisations from 108 countries.

‘break’ processes of urbanisation bringing urban dwellers in contact with food production. Urban agriculture schemes are often part of CSA.

These examples show that even if on occasion resistance cannot “defeat, overturn, or suddenly transform disciplinary power, it has the capacity to resuscitate the problematic of power abuse (...) (generating) personal and political empowerment through the acts of naming violations and refusing to collaborate with oppressors” (Aggarwal 2004:17). These movements point out the incoherencies and contradictions of the hegemonic discourse framing agri-food systems, breaking the consent and proposing alternative frameworks. However, the dynamics of hegemonic power will aim to undermine or co-opt these contestations and challenges.

The rise of participatory democracies in the South

Naomi Klein (2008) sees the election of left-wing governments in South America –Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Nicaragua-, as a first wave of democracies that have overcome the ‘shock’ of neo-liberalism. These left wing governments are actively disengaging from neo-liberal economic policies, including the nationalisation of key sectors of the economy, land reform, major investments in education and health. They are not, however, replicas of the left wing governments of the past. They include trends of decentralisation and build on extensive social networks, with power “dispersed at the grass roots and community level” (454). Further, it includes disengagement from dominant financial institutions and agreements, aiming to find alternative pathways of South-South collaboration. Direct democracy is being put into practice, with increased citizen participation in policy-making and in the management of services.(455). Klein predicts that other countries will follow suit, learning from the experiences of these “experiments” on social transformation and participatory democracy.

Alternative political systems: federalism and decentralisation

“Triumphant” political systems in the new millennium have been fairly centralised and bureaucratic liberal democracies. However, in the 19th century, everything was in question, even the nature of the State itself. Libertarian theorists sought for political arrangements that would ensure the *autonomy* and the liberty of individuals and communities. Bakunin (1990, 1st ed 1873) was almost prophetic when he criticized Marxist attempts to redress class subordination through

the participation in or capturing of the State. Anarchists pointed out that the problem was that the state itself –its “machine-like” bureaucratic apparatus- that reproduced subordination, thus class struggles should call for the elimination of the state to ensure the supremacy of the proletariat. Bakunin contended that if Marxists attempted to “participate in party politics, they would be drawn into the parliamentary system and would become indistinguishable from the bourgeois parties, or, if they ever came to power, they would form a new ruling elite over the masses” (Shatz 1990). Anarchism focused on ‘fraternity’ to achieve the two other elements of the French revolution trinity: liberty and equality. Bakunin believed that “social solidarity, a deep-rooted social and communal instinct, was an innate feature of human nature.” (xxx) The artificial structure of the state impeded this face-to-face encounter and solidarity among citizens. A new society would be “organized ‘from below upward’, composed of small, voluntary, communities federating into larger associations for larger purposes”. This would replace the top-down, hierarchical modern state. Bakunin said: “There is no middle path between rigorously consistent federalism and bureaucratic government” (Bakunin 1873, quoted in Saltman 1983:165-6).⁷

Who would carry out the revolution? Not “class conscious” brokers, but the marginalised, the excluded themselves: the peasants, semi urbanised labourers and artisans. Unlike Marx, Bakunin found the roots for anarchist revolutionary change in the peasantry, and less so in the urban proletariat.

The thoughts of Proudhon followed similar lines, focusing particularly on another institution reified in liberal governments of the 19th century that reproduced deprivation. He said ‘Property is theft!’ (Proudhon 1999; 1st ed 1840). He claimed that “possession is for all, property for none”. Unpacking the concept of property, he claims that land owners and capitalist stole the profits

⁷ By the way Michel, there’s a good quote in Saltman on Bakunin’s thoughts about the institutionalisation of science for your chapter on knowledge.

““For Bakunin, science, like the state, was an inherently abstract enterprise. However, unlike the state, science was a legitimate indeed essential human undertaking, which had a critical role to play in mankind’s development. For science to fulfil its mandate, however, it had to be kept at arm’s length from politics on two important respects. First scientific had to be freed of its ruling-class fetters, which, Bakunin argued, had distorted it into a tool of the state’s privileged classes. Second, and more broadly, Bakunin’s Feuerbachian concern with the fate of the sentient individual led him to insist that science be permanently precluded from determining political policy. Thus, in Bakunin’s view, the talks of redirecting science toward its proper social role was twofold: science had to be freed of its false ruling class bias, and it had to be employed appropriately as only the “compass of life” not its arbiter. If society could thus assert political control over the content and function of science, science would strengthen the principle of mutual authority rather than destroy it” (Saltman 1983: 166)

from labourers: the only legitimate source of property is labour. Thus what one produces on is one's property. He advocated for the exclusive right to what one produces, but the common property of the means of production, workplaces and capital. He didn't approve of 'society' owning means of production or land, but rather that the 'users' own it, under the supervision of 'society'.⁸ This chimes with the Emiliano Zapata's slogan "la tierra para el que la trabaja".

Proudhon advocates for a new society in which the bargaining process is the centre of citizen engagement: individuals and groups bargain directly with each, without any intermediaries, until they arrive at an acceptable agreement. (Ritter 1969). To avoid subordination, he proposes a society in which "component" groups remain equal. He stresses the need for workers to have a bargaining position. Proudhon advocates for autonomous units, but warns of the risk of fragmentation. As a solution to that, he relies on social diversity:

Along with "the greatest independence of individuals and groups" must go "the greatest possible variety of combinations". Or, (...) it is not enough to create "independent centres" "numerous specialities are needed too. The units of a mutualist society are not only to be equal in power they are also to differ in their occupations, personalities, ideas, inclinations, and any other characteristics that may affect the quality of the goods they offer. Equality of rank must be supplemented by diversity of kind. (Ritter quoting Proudhon 1969:126).

Proudhon advocates for federalism as the only way to protect these mutualist, reciprocal, face-to-face relationships. His federalism is a "contractual arrangement in which the largest units are assigned the fewest power and the smallest ones the most. The result is the subordination of the higher levels to the lower. The local units are even given the right to secede" (155). Proudhon still leaves a few scarce responsibilities to the State: it acts as creative initiator, and neutral arbiter and enforcer: "after introducing an innovation (...) the state withdraws, leaving execution to the new service to local authorities and citizens". His federation is incompatible with centralised administration: its goal is to sustain mutualist relationships based on bargaining.

⁸ I've used wikipedia's page on Proudhon, I know it's not a "proper" academia for these last four lines, but actually it is well explained and referenced. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre-Joseph_Proudhon

Contemporary democracies, although highly centralised, do tend to integrate a small component of devolution and decentralisation. However, one cannot talk of true federations in decentralised administrations such as Spain, as true federalism represents the creation of sub-national polities and sub national citizenships. National polity still affects and governs citizens in these jurisdictions (Schuck 2000).

“New” social movements are pushing hardly for reforms towards devolution, decentralisation and federalist solutions for social exclusion. As Nash (2008) points out the common thread of new social movements is:

“the growing autonomy sought by the participant. Women, ethnic minorities, semi-subsistence producers, wage workers, immigrants, are in one way or another seeking a voice and a space of their own. If the predominant model in the 20th century was to select a unifying model for action, predicated on dichotomized interest that minimized the expression of difference, the theme running through social movements of the 21st century is the right of participants to be themselves. This enhances the plasticity of human responses to our social and physical environment” (22).

E. Other complementary forms of countervailing power: the role of elites

Some theorists attribute to elites an important role in the promotion of inclusive policy and the redress of injustice. ‘Social consciousness’ (term coined by Swann 1988) arises when elites (i) perceive the differences and interconnections between different social groups, (ii) they acknowledge their responsibility and (iii) they believe there are feasible means to improve the situation of the poor (Swann et al 2000, Hossain and Moore 2002).

As in the case of abolitionism, charitable enterprises and lobbying and advocacy campaigns for pro-poor changes in regulation are activities that can be lead by elites. The reasons can range from altruistic behaviour to self-preservation.

Schwann et al (2000) put forward the reasons why elites might engage in initiatives against poverty or exclusion: see figure 2

Loss avoidance: the more acutely the elites perceive the poor as a threat, the more ready they will be to consider an improvement of the life conditions of the poor.

Gain seeking: the more opportunities the elites perceive in the presence of the poor, the more ready the elites will be to consider an improvement in the life conditions of the poor.

Inaction: the fewer consequences the presence of the poor are perceived to have for the elites and their station in life, the less the elites will be ready to consider an improvement of the life conditions of the poor.

Efficacy: the more feasible the elites consider an improvement of the life conditions of the poor, the more willing the elites will be to consider reform measures towards that end.

Collective action: the more the elites perceive that a fair distribution of burdens will be realized, the more they will be willing to consider reform measures.

Decisive action: the more the elites are willing to consider improvement in the life conditions of the poor, the more likely it is that actual reforms will be implemented.

Ilustración 3 Reasons for pro-poor elite action (Swann et al 2000)

Robert Chambers (2006) claims that our work towards social inclusion must go not only through “bottom-up” approaches as developed above, but also working with the powerful to promote social change, giving them “power to empower”. Developmental work must thus support those powerful who are either allies or potential allies with information and arguments they can use. The powerful will be able to change behaviour and relationships, convene and catalyse, facilitate, coach and inspire, ask questions, broker and make enabling rules in benefit of the less powerful (105).

The evident limitation of these arguments is that there will be a limit to what elites can commit to, particularly if the system that privileges them is under threat. Further, involving the elites in emancipatory movements might open spaces for co-option. Bottom-up social movements will need to be aware of the opportunities and risks that alliance-building represent.

4. Ensuring social inclusion in the framing of countervailing power

Social movements: the tension between common identity and goals and difference *within*

Understanding identity and processes of social inclusion within social movements are fundamental to achieve effective and inclusive countervailing power.

As pointed out before there are three elements –one external and two internal -continuously in tension and negotiated by members in social movements: (i) the need to create unitary names, symbols and goals: the projection of ‘sameness’ to outsiders; (ii) the need to have a shared collective identity, and common arguments/questions that enhance their solidarity and (iii) the need to acknowledge and negotiate *difference* within the movement. (Stephen 2005; 1997).

The erasing of difference in social movements

The history of social movements is plagued with examples of collective action that silenced difference. Dominant elites often appropriate the spaces of decision-making, being more dominant in the construction of coalitions, often misunderstanding the problems and plights of the more subordinate social groups. With the excuse of prioritising one dimension of emancipation e.g. class, agrarian reform, women rights etc. other forms of injustice are silenced so as to maintain a common message. Subordinate groups then have to fight against exclusion *within* the movement added to their struggles *for* the movement. For example, class movements have traditionally silenced gender and race; first wave feminist movements ignored the class struggles of working class women and from developing countries; Peasant movements have ignored the claims of indigenous peoples; women rights movements ignored other sexualities; Indigenous group rights can undermine women’s individual rights, and a long etc.

We will see these examples below.

Nash gives examples of Indigenous Brazilian and Namibian women, who fought battles on two fronts: “at home and in public, against the predatory invaders of their jungle habitat (...) despite the opposition they face at home, where their husbands object to their political activities, but also in the wider world where white invaders see them as objects of rape and forced servitude” (18).

Essentialising vs. strategizing

In order to project ‘sameness’ to outsiders, to create unitary names, symbols and goals, social movements have in some degree to simplify their identity to promote social change. Taylor (1999) argues that these message ‘essentialise’ the excluded group, it reinforces the dichotomies of hegemon/subordinate and thus reinforces the processes of exclusion. However, other scholars (Stephen 2005, 1997, Nash 2005; Sylvain 2005; Eyben and Lovett 2004) argue that a degree of essentialisation is feasible for *strategic* reasons, as long as the symbolic complexity is maintained in the discussions and negotiations *within* the movement. Further, using strategic ‘essentialised’ identities can sometimes open spaces for participation that wouldn’t be otherwise. For example “Las madres de la plaza de Mayo in Argentina and the COMADRES in Salvador were able to instrumentalise their essentialisation as mothers to protest in times of military dictatorship (Stephen 2005, 1997). Further, the use of essentialised categories such as ‘indigenous’ and ‘indigenous women’, although not representative of the different identities residing in the movements, helped grasp the consciences of decision-makers and contributed to favourable policy reforms (Sylvain 2005; Eyben and Lovett 2004)

How do we ensure inclusion in social movements?

Deepening democracy *within* social movements is the way forward. Different mechanisms, between federalisation – looking for face-to-face interaction- and horizontalisation; and if necessary, the building up of accountable structures through the “right mix” of deliberation, consensus-building and majority votes (Guberman et al 2007; Alpízar Durán et al 2007).

Movements must incorporate mechanisms that are more inclusive that give excluded groups a stronger voice in deliberative proceedings. Weldon (2006) proposes three features of inclusive communication within social movements that should be integrated as norms for inclusion:

- *a commitment to work towards agreement on specific issues while expecting dissent; through the institutionalisation of dissent: truly deliberative processes that undertake “consensus-building on specific questions or contexts, but expecting disagreement (...) as part of the process” (57)*

- *descriptive representation*: ensuring the presence –through quotas or otherwise- of representatives of marginalised groups in decision-making fora; this cannot be tokenistic, but “involve members of marginalized groups in such numbers and contexts that they can discuss issues among themselves, set an independent agenda, and present a perspective critical of the dominant group if necessary”. (56) This builds trust and communication.
- *self-organization of marginalized groups*; social movements must create spaces for dominated groups within them to form separate discussions, in order to develop and disseminate new concepts and ideas to the dominant public sphere. This gives their statements more weight and helps put interlocutors in the same level.

Weldon confirms the fact that inclusiveness of a social movement has consequences for its success and durability. Whereas the global movement against gender violence achieved policy change and continuity because of the application of the norms described above, on the other hand the transnational movement for women’s reproductive rights did not apply them and was co-opted by middle class elites, and only short-term gains were achieved and the continuity of the movement jeopardized.

Marx Ferree and Roth (1998) point out the need to ensure institutionalised dialogue and contacts between social movements of different nature –in this case workers movement and women’s rights movements- to enhance synergies.

A few examples of the inter-relations between exclusions:

A. Gender, sexuality and social movements

(i) Women’s interests effaced in other movements

Women have been traditionally excluded in *trade union* movements. The establishment of separate women unions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries followed upon their exclusion in ‘male’ trade unionism. In the last 20 years, similar initiatives *within* labour movements have been created to integrate difference –not only women, but also race, disability and sexuality- showing some success through self-organisation and representation. (Colgan and Ledwith 2000).

Similarly, *agrarian* movements have pushing women's concerns aside in fear of losing force in the struggle for agrarian reform (Deere 2003, Deere and Leon 2001). This was particularly true in the case of women's access to land, reform that was held back within the agrarian movements when other women's rights issues were being redressed. Today, joint titling schemes and inclusion mechanisms of women-headed households in the titling process is changing the trends (Deere and Leon 2001).

Deere and Leon (2001) also warn of the inherent tensions existing between *indigenous* movements' demands for communal and group rights and women's movements regarding individual versus collective rights to land:

"It is one thing to defend collective property rights but another thing to defend traditional customs and practices that discriminate against women. At a minimum, it is important for indigenous women to defend their right to representation within indigenous and peasant communities so that representation is independent of marital status and inclusive of all adults. Similarly, if collective land titles are to be truly collective, then adult women should appear alongside the men in the community registry (58)"

(ii) Women's movements excluding other identities

First wave (1900s) and second wave feminisms (1960s) have been criticized for ignoring issues of race and class. Frequently women's movements have been perceived by women workers as elitist detached from their day-to-day struggles in the workplace (Marx Ferree and Roth 1998). Race, ethnicity and class issues were neglected in post-war feminism, thus the needs of middle class, white women were prioritised (Tarrant 2006).

Similarly, lesbian activists who demanded recognition within the feminist movement in the 1970s met hostility in both the liberal and radical branches. "Since charges of lesbianism had been used to discredit women who challenge traditional roles, feminists sought to avoid public admission that there were, in fact lesbians in their ranks" (Taylor and Whittier 1992: 551). However, today, lesbian movements have kept the fire alive to claim women's rights after the demise of the popularity of the feminist movement (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

B. Agrarian movements and social inclusion

Similar processes of exclusion and inclusion have happened within agrarian movements.

Independence movements and peasant revolutions have been often captured by dominant elites of mixed origin, and revolutionary entrepreneurs that gave priority to class position (Nash 2005). Other identities such as gender, as mentioned above, and ethnicity were widely neglected.

The historical record suggests that in the twentieth century indigenous communities have rarely initiated or sustained social movements that proclaimed an indigenous identity and demanded indigenous rights. To the contrary, active rural organizing within and between indigenous communities has traditionally been the reserve of peasant unions, political parties, churches, and revolutionaries. These movements have historically attempted to mobilize Indians to forge class, partisan, religious and/or revolutionary identities over, and often against, indigenous ones (Yashar 1998)

The effects of neoliberal policies i.e. structural adjustment and subsequent deterioration of livelihoods has brought about new and militant rural movements in the South, from Brazil or Mexico, to Zimbabwe and the Philippines. Disappointment with class-based mobilisation has driven new rural movements to act autonomously from political parties and the State. (Moyo and Yeros 2005)

When exploring peasant politics it is important to understand structural change: processes of industrialisation of agriculture and urbanisation. (Navarro 2008). However the strongest movements today against neoliberalism are of rural origin.

“New” rural movements are cosmopolitan, local-global movements that build on grassroots mobilisation but that also engage with other actors –ngos, donor agencies, trade unions, political parties, other civil society movements- and engage in transnational agrarian movements through complex social networks (Borras et al 2008).

Rural movements are ideologically diverse. The strategies used by contemporary rural movements varies greatly, from protest and marches, to land occupations seeking land reform, to armed struggle aiming for constitutional reform and regional autonomy, up to larger scale national democratic transformation at the level of the state. (Moyo and Yeros 2005).

According to Moyo and Yeros, neoliberal transformation of the countryside have determined the:

“flourishing of social hierarchies which derive from gender, generation, race, caste and ethnicity” (reaching even) “‘human bondage’ under capitalism” (...) “The ‘dull compulsion’

of market forces is driving labourers into relations of ‘personal dependence’, often mediated through powerful social hierarchies that either fuse with class (e.g. race, caste) or cut across it (gender). To be sure, they may appear as non capitalistic on the surface, but they are fully contingent upon the operation of the capitalist market.” (32-33)

This is why new agrarian movements have mobilised cultural elements as well as material elements: fusing Marxian and ethnic/racial political languages are increasingly gender and ecologically sensitive.

5. Mobilising around food: other initiatives

We have mostly concentrated on social movements and other initiatives related to agriculture and food production. The resurgence of rural social movements and the creation of transnational agrarian movements are a fundamental source of countervailing power. In this section I just want to give some examples on urban initiatives and campaigns related to food manufacturing and distribution that can complement mobilisation from the ‘consumer’ and urban citizen perspective.

For example, consumer/citizen oriented anti-corporate campaigns around food have successfully increased awareness of the effect of corporations on farmers’ rights and labour conditions of workers in rural areas and the food processing industry. An interesting example in the UK would be Tescopoly (www.tescopoly.org), an NGO alliance against supermarket power. Similar networks are being built to feed into the Competition commission debate, advocating for the election of an Ombudsman for Supermarkets, to increase accountability and redress social injustice in the supply chains.

The increased flexibilisation of labour in agriculture, and especially in the horticulture and fruit sectors has created new spaces for exploitation of vulnerable workers, particularly women and migrant workers. Trade unions, human rights organisation and migrant rights organisations have successfully campaigned in the UK for the protection of rights of migrant labourers. The resulting changes in the law acknowledged migrants equal labour rights and kick-started the Gangmaster Licensing Authority. However, the roots causes of flexibilisation of labour – corporate concentration and pressures along the food chain- have not been tackled; therefore workers remain vulnerable to unscrupulous employers.

Conclusion

Citizenship can only be fully achieved if we achieve Lister's *differentiated universalism* i.e. a citizenship status and process that delivers *social inclusion*. Citizens' engagement for rights claiming can take place in different forms. In this chapter we have focused mainly on the processes that build countervailing power, and their consequent contribution to social inclusion, and thus to citizenship.

Countervailing power is a way in which citizens, through their participation in civil society and social movements mobilise collectively *separately* from the State. This type of collective action is not only complementary to other types of citizen engagement –direct participation and representation-, it actually enables them. This is so, because the main goals of countervailing power for inclusive citizenship are:

- To advocate for *and embody* a deepened democracy
- To negotiate the inclusionary and exclusionary tensions within citizenship
- To hold institutions to account – the state but also other private and public actors
- To advocate for, mobilise for and deliver social change
- To propose *and embody* alternative worldviews and practices

The review of literature on social exclusion indicates that in order to promote social inclusion, there is a need to (i) increase the depth of democracy and community participation, through institutional shifts and increased access, (ii) development of critical consciousness and changes in cultural valuations, and, of course, (iii) collective actions: struggles and social movements.

Countervailing power builds on mainly on *power within* (citizens' awareness and self confidence) and *power with* (collective action). 'Bottom up' social transformations will aim to create new spaces for participation, bringing the issues that concern the powerless into the arena of decision-making.

Countervailing power must be *counterhegemonic* as well. It must challenge mainstream ideologies and value systems instaurated by the powerful and that reproduce inequality. It works through the following actions:

- The strengthening of the watchdog, advocacy and counter hegemonic nature of civil society
- Collective action: social movements
- Resistance
- Creating alternative paradigms and practices
- Others: building alliances with powerful groups

We will judge the ‘value’ of these actions not only through evaluating the impacts in policy change, and creating spaces for participation and decision-making; for them to deliver citizenship, they will need to be *inclusive* – for example, through the participatory negotiation of difference, meanings and strategies - and must be counter hegemonic in nature i.e. changing the value system and discourse, and the institutions that reproduce them.

This review has also gathered recommendations on how to make social movements more inclusive. In order to achieve this we must look for the deepening of democracy *within* them. Trends towards federalisation and horizontalisation should be pursued, promoting the accountability of social structures through the right combination of mutualist deliberation, consensus building and majority votes. Institutional mechanisms within the movements must be put in place to act as norms of inclusion: commitment to work towards agreement on specific issues while expecting dissent, and descriptive representation and self organisation of marginalised groups. Building alliances and communication channels with other social movements struggling against other dimensions of exclusion will help social movements be ‘on their toes’ to avoid exclusionary tendencies within them, and will create synergies for the building up of countervailing power.

Social movements today are acknowledging the importance of incorporating identity and difference in order to deliver true citizenship beyond materialistic gains. Autonomy becomes the main pre-requisite for the achievement of social justice.

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